1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

273 the juice of a fern to "make the beer red," is fermented in wooden troughs from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) long made of tree stumps hollowed out by burning and chopping, then closed at both ends with wax. To accelerate fermentation, the beverage is heated every 3d day with red-hot stones and then covered with pieces of bark.

COMMUNICATION

202 The *Caingang* leave messages in symbolic code for those who will follow the same path. A stick with honey indicates where a bees nest has been found; dolls and sticks represent a feast to which some group is being invited; an inclined stick shows the time of day at which some event took place; feathers scattered on the ground tell of a successful hunting party, etc. (Maniser, 1930, p. 790). Lozano (1873, 1:495) stated that to declare war, the *Guayaná* (i. e., the *Caingang*) stuck an arrow into a tree near a path followed by their enemies. [574] A circle of maize cobs on the ground or hanging from a tree was an invitation to a drinking bout.

RELIGION

771 776 **Religious beliefs.**—The *Aweikoma* conceive the world to be strongly animistic, peopled with ghosts (kuplêng) and spirits (nggiyúin) of all sorts who dwell in trees, rocks, mountains, stars, winds, and in large and small animals. To meet a spirit is, as a rule, an ominous event. But spirits may be friendly and appear to a man to offer their aid. Those who are assisted in hunting by a guardian spirit share with it the game which they have killed. A man may even adopt a spirit child and place it in his wife's womb.

825 *Aweikoma-Caingang* share the widespread belief that all animals have "masters," that is to say, spirits that control and protect them. Such spirits are willing to give up some of their kin to satisfy men's needs, but are angered if people destroy them wantonly or if hunters refuse an animal "offered" to them.

756 **Shamanism.**—The *Caingang* shaman consults spirits at night, puffing his pipe until he is surrounded by a cloud of smoke. The spirits talk to him in long whistles and tell him where to find a favorable hunting ground or abundant honey. They may also reveal the outcome of an undertaking involving the band.

755 757 Shamans are also doctors, but this role is less conspicuous among the *Caingang* than elsewhere and is even absent among the *Caingang* of Palmas and of São Paulo. Among the decadent *Aweikoma-Caingang*, observed by Henry (1941, p. 76), shamans only treated members of their immediate family and did not receive a fee for their cures. The shaman knows many magic remedies, generally herbs, the virtues

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

of which have been revealed to him by some spirit. A certain grass, said to be the favorite food of tapirs, is endowed with great medicinal virtues. It is used not only to cure but also to prevent sickness (Henry, 1941, p. 83). Massages play a great part in therapeutics. Sometimes these are so violent that the practitioner steps on the patient's stomach. The skin is frequently rubbed with pulverized barks or plants before the treatment. Burning herbs are used therapeutically, particularly for wounds. A patient bitten by a snake is laid upon a slanting platform over a fire and given warm water to drink to make him vomit. Maniser (1930, p. 784) was impressed by the number of people whose heads, arms, or legs were swathed in *Philodendron* for therapeutic purposes. To lessen fatigue on a long walk, the Indians bandage their legs up to the hip with tight braids. (On *Caingang* medicine, see Paula Souza, 1918, pp. 750–753.)

Bloodletting, which is practiced with a flint flake or a piece of glass, is a common cure for many ailments. Like many Indians, the *Caingang* treat fever with cold baths. Breathing on the affected spot is a common means of assisting a suffering person. Wounds are sprinkled with pulverized jaborandy powder.

When illness is caused by the loss of the soul, the patient may recover if appropriate words are spoken to induce the soul to return. It is often promised food. If the shaman's diagnosis reveals that the disease has been brought about by invisible missiles shot by a spirit, the cure consists of extracting them with the mouth. This procedure, however, was observed only among the *Aweikoma-Caingang* of Santa Catarina.

Magic practices.—To drive clouds away, old women blow against the right hand and then wave it toward the clouds, spreading the fingers as if to disseminate their breath. When the *Aweikoma-Caingang* desire rain, they put their mouths to the water and blow. They take some in their hands and cry, as they throw it upward, "Look here! Do like this." (Henry, 1941, p. 94.) Ashes thrown into a river are expected to stop its rise.

Divining.—According to Lozano (1873, 1:427), *Guayaná* shamans drank maté in order to consult spirits. Answering questions put to them by their clients, the shamans always said, "The grass [maté] told me this or that." Among modern *Aweikoma*, a man may be requested to drink maté and to belch while he is asked questions. A strong belch is interpreted as "No" and a weak one as "Yes" (Henry, 1941, p. 88).

In order to know which animals will be killed and where they will be found, the *Aweikoma-Caingang* set fire to a heap of pine-wood charcoal. The size of the spark corresponds to an animal species and the place where it twinkles indicates where the game will be slain.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

SM3 Caingang SM3
Awetkoma

lift me up.' When he heard this, he woke up and took hold of her, lifted, 761
and set her down. Then she said to him, 'It seems to me that you copulated 776
with me,' but he replied: 'No! Probably *ggtÿnán* copulated with you.'
She lay there awhile and at last died. When she was burnt, she exploded.
She was *sui* [an evil omen] to them. She lay on her back with her feet in
the air. She also said her husband [Véye] copulated with her; that is why
she died. Probably the *ggtÿnán* looked like Véye. Her blood came out of
her vagina."

Another way of bringing back the errant *kupléng* is through calling it,
but it does not always return. "I saw Nggenú's *kupléng*," said Vombé,
"before the Brazilians killed her. I got up at night when the moon was
high. Nggenú was sleeping a little to the side. Her *kupléng* sat up. I
thought it was she herself. It went out into the darkness. I thought she had
gone to urinate, and I waited for her to return. I was awake, and I looked
for her. I called out, 'Are you there?' 'Yes. When he [her infant] cried, I
sat up.' 'I thought you went that way, and I waited for you.' 'I didn't go;
I just sat up.' 'You went that way; I heard your noise.' Then Kuthógn [her
husband] rose and called Nggenú['s *kupléng*]: 'Come here, Nggenú,
come here! Come to the meat you put aside!' He was calling her *kupléng*,
but it probably did not come back, for nine days later the Brazilians killed
her." It is interesting that mortals often use the same inducement to lure
back the wandering *kupléng* as the *ggtÿnán* do to draw it away; namely,
food. Through the promise of plenty the *kupléng* of a man is lured away
by the supernaturals; through food the soul of a dead child is induced to
return to its mother's womb, and it was through food that the *kupléng* of
Nggenú was tempted to return to Kuthógn.

Behind the *kupléng's* wish to snatch away its living relatives is its strong
attachment for them, but in the case of the ghost-soul of a dead enemy the
motivating force is revenge. When relatives lead off the unwilling *kupléng*
it is so that it may be cherished, but enemies seize the soul to punish the
body. So, also, when supernatural beings other than ghost-souls take away
kupléng, it is for similar reasons. Thus the Kaingáng imagination follows
out its pattern consistently both with *kupléng* and with all other *ggtÿnán*.

Kupléng may seduce, "lead off," or capture the souls of mortals, but de- 1755
vouring and shooting are the privilege of other *ggtÿnán*. For devouring 1796
there is no remedy—once a person is eaten, he is consumed and that is all,
but for shooting there is a cure, and that is extraction of the missile, a red-
dish, wormlike object. Anyone may summon back a wandering soul or
even cure sickness with an infusion of herbs or of bark scrapings, but only a
shaman who has seen supernatural Pain can extract *tkéyé*, the missiles
which are shot into people by the monster Yunggí or by Pain.

"Tendó was a shaman. She took out men's *tkéyé*. Her sister Kukó had 1756

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Awe-Ikoma

228 too, when a new-born child's ceremonial mother and father place its umbilical cord and placenta in the water, they wrap them in tapir's raw food. Throughout life's crises, wherever the threat of death is great or where the greatest stakes lie, tapir's raw food appears as a symbol to help the Kaingáng over difficult transitions.

235 When we review the techniques which the Kaingáng employ to cure their sick, one in particular seems in perfect harmony with what we know of the Kaingáng personality and world-view—that is the laying on of hands which accompanies every curing, no matter what additional therapeusis is utilized. This is at once a way of reassuring the sick by reawakening in them deep-rooted intuitions of security and a device for bringing the "physician" into rapport with his patient. Even herb infusions are not so constantly resorted to as the laying on of hands. The ceremony used by Thalú to cure her son is of a type well known throughout the primitive world and particularly in the Americas. The most remarkable thing about it, however, is that there should be only one such story from the Kaingáng and that it is so well known and so outstanding that it is told almost like a folktale. There has been nothing like it for a hundred years. *Thêfyé* extractions also have been disappearing, for the last that the Kaingáng remember occurred fifty years ago. The disappearance of curings by singing and by extraction of *thêfyé* are examples of the gradual simplification of the culture, which has been going on for centuries and of which we have abundant evidence from social organization and folklore.

The techniques of biting, spitting, blowing, and singing were obtained from the *nggiyáda*, but the laying on of hands anyone could practice. The application of warm infusions and warm hands has nothing to do with the supernatural, except in so far as everything in the Kaingáng world is supposed to have come from the supernatural. The history of Kaingáng society has been one of long-continued disruption and of gradual reduction in the circle of security. Thus, as the human world grew more and more hostile, the supernatural, which was already alive with monsters and charged with death, began to lose the modicum of beneficence that it had had and the Kaingáng came to rely more on things they received directly from those they had known since childhood. It is significant in this connection that the last *thêfyé* extraction was done just about the time of the last extermination of an extended family. The Kaingáng have not become sceptical of the supernatural, but have come to rely little on its goodness.

Hunting Practices[36]

224 Since the Kaingáng have placed their faith largely in the efficacy of personal contact with the supernatural and the element of rapport is rarely

[36] All that is said here regarding tapir applies equally to deer.